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COVER: Detail of a Mudejar carpet from Spain, second quarter 15th century, showing the coat of arms of Maria Enriquez, daughter of Alfonso Enriquez, 25th Admiral of Castile, on the front cover and the arms of Juan de Rojas on the back cover. Textile Museum 1976.10.2. Purchase, Arthur D. Jenkins Gift Fund and Proceeds from Sale of Art. (See Figure 2 in "Two Remarkable Fifteenth Century Carpets from Spain" by Louise W. Mackie.)

Transparency by Raymond L. Schwartz.

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MING MANDARIN SQUARES

SCHUYLER CAMMANN

"Mandarin Squares" is the common Western term for the patterned textiles worn by Chinese nobles and officials and their wives from 1391 to 1912, to indicate the wearer's rank. The Chinese name for them is *p'u-fang*. In the early Ming Dynasty, when they were first worn, they were woven or embroidered directly into the chest and back of the robe, extending from side-seam to side-seam; as a result they were sometimes slightly trapezoidal, instead of being strictly rectangular. During the Ch'ing Dynasty, they became formalized into smaller squares with borders, and during most of that period they were usually separately made, to be attached to the front and back of an outer jacket that was worn over the robe proper. Since these jackets opened down the center, the front square had to be split in two. This marks the primary difference between the mandarin squares of the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties, although there were also many stylistic differences in the patterns on the Ch'ing examples.[1] Ch'ing mandarin squares have long been popular with collectors, as they are relatively small and easy to stow away, and yet they display a wide range of colorful patterns, in a number of interesting techniques. The Ming squares are much rarer and seldom seen, but the Textile Museum has a few notable examples.[2]

This type of insignia developed rather late in Chinese history. In 1368, a Chinese army under Chu Yüan-chang succeeded in driving the previous Mongol rulers out of most of China, and a new dynasty was proclaimed, with General Chu as its first Emperor. This was the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), destined to be one of China's greater historical periods. The first laws for its official costume were very brief, due to the uncertain times. It took nearly twenty-five years to complete the reconquest of China and to straighten out the chaotic situations that remained after several decades of misrule, civil war, and local rebellions in the later years of the Yüan Dynasty when the Mongols had been ruling China. When conditions were finally stabilized, the new regime issued formal regulations to replace the very tentative ones that had been announced at the beginning of the dynasty. These were decided at a meeting of the chiefs of state on July 5th, 1391. First they proclaimed new rules for the hats and robes to be worn at Court ceremonies and the

Fig. 1 Portrait of a lower rank civil official wearing a mandarin square with Paradise flycatchers. Ming dynasty, about 1500. Formerly in the Peters Collection.

Annual Sacrifices, carefully differentiated to show at a glance the wearer's rank. Then they added further regulations for less formal occasions and for "ordinary dress." These last said that the robes for nobles and officials and their wives on ordinary occasions should be red, with certain distinguishing patterns to mark their places in the Chinese social system.[3]

The patterns for the Emperor and his sons and grandsons consisted of five-clawed dragons worn in circular designs on chest and back and on the shoulders. The rest had the actual squares. A few of the Ming imperial, circular badges are preserved in American collections, although they are very rare.[4] Almost as rare are the square patterns displaying paired "Chinese phoenixes" (*feng-huang*), which were worn by the Ming princesses.[5] These are especially interesting because they show the same differentiation between the male and female of this (mythical) species that one finds on the Ming porcelains. The male bird usually has five serrated tail plumes, while the female has six curving ones, representing symbolic (yang and yin) distinctions.

The laws of 1391 said the ordinary robes for dukes, marquises, earls, and sons-in-law of the Emperor, should have patterns with either of two mythical animals: the *ch'i-lin*, a kind of antelope with a dragon's head, a scaly body, and a very bushy tail, or a *pai-tse*, a kind of lion that also had a dragon's head.[6] Military officers of the 1st and 2nd rank would have the lion (in its mythical Chinese form); 3rd and 4th rank, tiger and leopard, officers of the 5th rank—more numerous than the rest—would have the bear (very stylized and unreal looking);[7] the 6th and 7th rank would have the panther (a tawny yellow cat); and the 8th and 9th rank the "rhinoceros" (highly stylized and completely unlike the original animal, which the Chinese of that time had never seen),[8] or the "sea horse," a mythical stallion, shown bounding over waves.[9] The civil officials, by contrast, wore bird patterns—with the exception of those who served in the Censorate. These latter had the *hsieh-chai*, a white lion with a single horn, because it was a symbol for Justice.[10]

In contrast to some of the animals, the birds used as marks of rank were much more naturalistic looking, although some of these, too, were so stylized that they bore little resemblance to their prototypes. Civil officials of the 1st and 2nd rank could have the white crane or the golden pheasant; 3rd and 4th rank, the peacock or the wild goose; those of the 5th rank—again, very numerous—would have the silver pheasant (in stylized form); the 6th and 7th rank, egret or mandarin duck, and the 8th and 9th rank, the oriole, quail, or the paradise flycatcher (also stylized).[11] The paradise flycatcher was a very popular subject in Ming art—though it has seldom been recognized by modern art-historians[12]—so it is somewhat surprising that it figured so far down on the list. Possibly its lower status resulted from the fact that it was primarily considered as being decorative and ornamental, whereas the other birds and most of the animals had definite symbolic meanings that made it auspicious to wear them.

The double listings have disturbed some modern students of Old China. However a Ming writer of the later 15th century, named Ch'iu Hsün, explained that, in each case where men of two ranks were assigned two kinds of birds or animals, those of the higher rank could have the choice of either kind, while those of the lesser rank could only use the second creature.[13] Apparently, this form of listing was intended for convenience, so that an official who had recently been promoted one step could continue to wear the robes of his last position, if he chose to do so.

Actually, there seems to have been some confusion during the 15th century, because the informal robes were not mass-produced uniforms, but were commissioned by the individual, or even had their patterns embroidered at home by the women of the family. By the 1480's the situation had become so bad that a complaint published in 1488 said that the military officers were not adhering to the laws but were constantly wearing robes for dukes, marquises and earls, as well as those of the first rank; in other words, they were usurping the *ch'i-lin*, *pai-tse* and lion patterns. Meanwhile, the complaint continues, the lower ranking officers were so often assuming the patterns prescribed for the higher ones that very few of them wore the bear, the panther, the "rhinoceros," or the sea horse; as a result, the professional makers of the latter patterns were almost destitute.[14]

There must also have been some irregularities among the civil officials as well, because a new law was issued in 1527 specifying

Fig. 2 Mandarin square in k'o-ssu tapestry, 7th rank, with ducks. Early Ming dynasty, about 1400. The Textile Museum 1977.3. Gift of Schuyler Cammann.

one type of bird for each rank: 1st rank, crane; 2nd rank, golden pheasant; 3rd rank, peacock; 4th rank, wild goose; 5th rank, silver pheasant; 6th rank, egret; 7th rank, mandarin duck; 8th rank, oriole; 9th rank, quail; and unclassed officials (those waiting for an appointment to office), the paradise flycatcher. Most of the military officers were ordered to continue following the original regulations. However, those of the 8th rank were now to wear the "rhinoceros" alone, while the 9th rank wore only the sea horse.[15]

These regulations also warned that people were not to wear the animals "confusedly or together." This meant that no one should wear two animals or birds of different kinds within the same pattern; however, it was common, throughout the Ming, to use two—or even three—animals or birds of the same kind on a single square. In fact, when two birds were used, the design often showed the male in flight, representing the dynamic *yang* principle, while the female simply stood on the ground to represent the passive *yin* principle (as shown in Fig. 2).

None of the Ming laws refer to the patterns to be worn by wives of the officials. However, reliable Ming ancestor portraits make it clear that the wives wore the square of their husbands' rank, as was the custom later during the Ch'ing Dynasty. They wore their patterns sewn to their semi-formal robes of deep red or dark blue, with full sleeves and broad skirts, much like those of their husbands, or on less formal jackets worn over several flaring skirts. Unfortunately for the modern research-student, toward the end of the Ming they also began to wear over their semi-formal dress a decorated stole that had hitherto been reserved for full ceremonial attire. As a result, it is generally difficult to obtain a satisfactory view of the squares worn by women in the later Ming portraits. However, when husband and wife were painted together, usually enough of her square is still visible to show that it is identical with that worn by her husband. In the earlier portraits the identity is more obvious.

The fact that the wearers of these badges of rank could choose their own patterns gave them plenty of latitude. Illustrated books of the later Ming period, published toward the end of the 16th century, show some of the possible variations.[16] Among these, we find

Fig. 3 Mandarin square in k'o-ssu tapestry, 3rd rank, with peacocks. Ming dynasty, about 1500. The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City.

four distinct styles. One shows two, or three, birds or animals in a very naturalistic setting, comprising land, water (a stream, or the edge of a pond or river), and sky above. These three elements—Land, Water, and Sky—were the required ingredients of all Chinese renderings of landscape, whether in paintings, in carvings, or on porcelains or textiles, (see Fig. 2). The second style presented a more formalized landscape, with each of its elements more rigidly stylized, and its one or two animals or birds were usually flanked by two overly-large peony flowers (symbols of riches and honors) (see Fig. 3). A third type portrayed two birds in balanced flight against a background of scattered, stylized clouds, as shown on the portrait in Fig. 1. The last principal type shows a large single bird or animal, in heraldic stance, upon a rock rising from the sea, while most of the background represented the sky (see Fig. 4).

With this flexibility in design, a number of patterns must have been in use concurrently, especially in the remoter provinces, far from the capital where the new styles originated. But in Peking, whenever the sophisticated nobles and officials of the Court took up a new style, the preceding ones must have rapidly lost favor. The professional weavers,

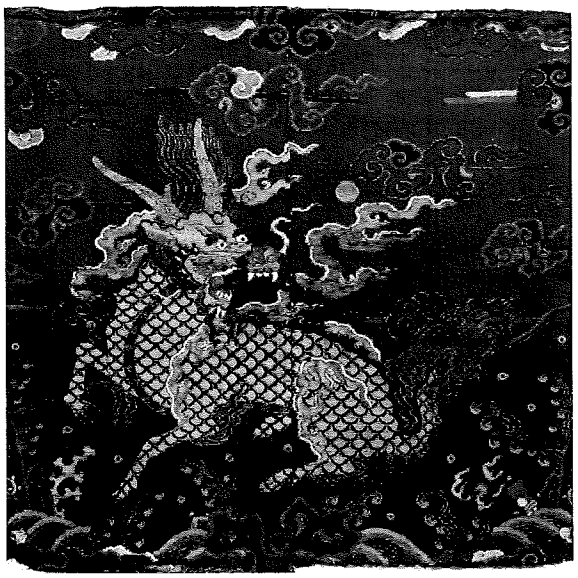

Fig. 4 Brocaded square of rank for a duke or marquis with a ch'i-lin. Late Ming dynasty, about 1600. Private collection.

in particular, would have been quick to change their patterns in response to the current demands for innovation. Thus, it is easier to suggest a probable line of evolution in the patterns that were being made and worn in Peking. It seems likely that they developed in the order that was presented in the last paragraph.

The fact that so many of the patterns were embroidered at home, by the wives and daughters of officials, must have increased the confusion in patterns; but, from another point of view, this had a definite plus-factor. Since many of these were "labors of love," rather than routine professional products, some of the Ming mandarin squares that have been preserved into modern times show extremely fine and intricate embroidery work. A single example may have been done in several different techniques.[17] As I have discussed Ming and Ch'ing embroidery methods in another article, it seems unnecessary to review that topic here.[18] It should be enough to say that, when the history of Chinese textiles is eventually written, it will certainly have to give a prominent place to the Ming contributions in embroidery and weaving.

A fine example of Ming weaving is presented in Fig. 2. This shows a panel in tapestry-weave that was cut from the center of a Ming mandarin square and mounted as a picture. The original would have been considerably wider, extending from side-seam to seam across the chest or back of a robe. Probably it had to be cut down because the two extremities had been worn by friction from the wearer's sleeves. Originally, its background was woven in gold, but over the years the silver alloy in the metal has corroded to give it a soft purplish tone, darkening the background so that its details are less prominent than they were when it was worn.

This piece was acquired in Peking by Miss C. F. Bieber, who was a resident of that city during the 1920's and '30's, and it was probably originally woven there. If not, it must have been made in one of the Yangtze Valley weaving establishments that was working for the Court, because its workmanship is of the highest quality. When the Japanese took over Peking, Miss Bieber came to this country, and she lent much of her collection to the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, then later to the Brooklyn Museum. It was in the latter that I first saw this piece in 1940, and I published it, somewhat prematurely, in 1942.[19] Later, Miss Bieber kindly gave it to me, so I could study it at leisure, and I had the opportunity to come to know it very well. Finally, feeling that it should have a permanent home, where it could be more widely appreciated, I passed it on to the Textile Museum.

My first account of this piece was premature because I had not yet seen many other real Ming mandarin squares, and did not know very much about their historical and stylistic background. With more experience I came to view it differently. When I first saw it, I had no difficulty in recognizing it as part of a mandarin square, though it was simply labeled "Chinese silk panel in k'o-ssu," because of the stylized pearls displayed in the lower portion representing water. This was a convention I had previously seen on mandarin squares, but it was never shown in paintings or pictorial panels, as this is not a natural feature, but was included to bring good fortune and prosperity to the wearer. Furthermore, the two birds made it very clear that this was a Ming square, and not a Ch'ing one, but still, I misdated it.

The few real Ming squares that I had seen—in contrast to numerous Ch'ing ones hopefully labeled "Ming"—were late, very formal examples, and the rather casual com-

Fig. 5 Portrait of a Chinese official of the late Yüan or early Ming period with a square showing ducks. About 1350–1390. Formerly in the Peters Collection.

position of this one gave me the false impression that it must represent a late, aberrent type, produced when the Ming Dynasty was already in decline, so weakened by intrigues at Court and rebellions in the provinces that it was unable to enforce its laws. This wrong impression also caused me to misdate a portrait in the Peters Collection that showed a Chinese official wearing a square with a quite similar pattern (see Fig. 5). Without seeking further evidence, I impetuously published both as dating from the 16th century.[20]

A few more years of research straightened out my thinking. First, I discovered that the man in that portrait was not wearing a Ming-style hat; instead, he had on an earlier type, used during the Yüan Dynasty that was dropped at the beginning of the Ming. Also, his robe was not of Ming type; the cut of its neck, in particular, was also pre-Ming. Then, I came to find that the laws for the Ming "ordinary robes" had merely regularized and systematized the patterns that had already been worn in the Yüan Dynasty, though they were apparently not used then as badges of rank. In other words, the Peters portrait must have been done in the 14th century, possibly even before the founding of the Ming Dynasty, and its pattern with ducks—so similar in feeling to the one on this k'o-ssu panel—would very likely provide an approximate date for the latter.

The Yüan Dynasty statutes regarding clothing are quite vague, and their decipherment is further complicated by the fact that they contain many terms from other languages that were commonly used in China during that period (1279-1368).[21] Furthermore, in the 1770's the Ch'ien-lung Emperor—who resented the fact that he was considered by the Chinese as a "barbarian" ruler—ordered that most books and paintings regarding the Mongols of the Yüan should be destroyed, along with similar ones regarding the origins of his own (Manchu) dynasty. Thus, masses of valuable evidence were destroyed.[22]

The descriptions of Yüan-period costume in the Yüan dynastic history do not specify any such ornamentation, much less the possible use of such patterns as marks of rank; but we do have pictorial evidence from another part of the Mongol Empire to show that duck patterns were highly favored. In Persian miniatures from the Il-Khanid period, and the Timurid period immediately following, Mongol nobles and officials are shown wearing Yüan-style outer robes, long, form-fitting garments with short sleeves, belted at the waist, often having patterns of birds or animals in landscape settings, apparently woven right into the fabric.[23] The patterned areas are in the form of "cloud collars" extending across the shoulders, or actual squares on breast and back, as well as narrow horizontal bands below the knees. The actual patterns often show ducks.

In fact, for some reason—not yet fully understood—ducks seem to have had a special significance for the Mongols. Not only were these birds figured on Yüan porcelains; the Yüan dynasty imperial portraits also show us that the wife of Kublai Khan and later Mongol empresses wore duck feathers atop their tall ceremonial headgear, and Kublai's son,

Timur Khan, also wore them on his Mongol-style hat.[24] We know that these were duck feathers, because William of Rubruck, a Flemish monk sent as an envoy to the Mongol Court in the 14th century, specifically stated that the noblewomen wore duck feathers atop their high "crowns."[25]

Even if the Yüan Dynasty duck-patterns were not actual badges of rank, the striking appearance of these designs cannot have failed to leave a strong impression in China—as they did in Persia—after their Mongol wearers had been expelled. Thus, it is not surprising that, when the Ming Court decided that the "ordinary robes" of nobles and officials should have distinctive patterns, they chose for designations of rank this style of pattern, adding other birds and animals to provide for the numerous grades.

The finest of the early Ming squares of rank were undoubtedly those woven in k'o-ssu tapestry, like this one. They were probably not mass-produced, but woven to the wearer's specifications. By A.D. 1400, which is approximately when this panel must have been made, the art of weaving silk tapestry had been practiced in China for some three hundred years, and the weavers had developed a high degree of dexterity in using it. The technique must have developed somewhere in Western Asia as the Chinese word *k'o-ssu* is written in several different ways (with separate characters), indicating that it was a borrowed foreign word, and it seems to represent an attempt to reproduce phonetically the Arabic and Persian word *khazz*.[26]

One last feature that caused me to misdate the k'o-ssu panel shown in Fig. 2 was the presence of the stylized pearls. I did not know when the Ming officials began to add lucky charms like the wealth symbols to their mandarin squares, but I assumed it must have been a late development, another sign of Ming decline. However, I later found that this custom must have begun very early in the dynasty. A splendid ancestor portrait, that can be dated quite reliably to 1451, shows a Ming official wearing a whole array of these wealth symbols on his square of rank, indicating that the custom must have been in full swing by then, so it may well have begun sometime before 1400.[27] However, this k'o-ssu panel must have been made at the very beginning of that trend. Since it only shows the pearls, and none of the other wealth symbols, it suggests a tentative beginning to what, by the middle of the century, had become a fully developed convention.

The wealth symbols, as a group, consisted of objects that had previously been used in China as symbols of offerings to the Buddhas, but by Yüan times they seem to have become secularized as symbols of wealth in general. They appear as such in the designs on 14th century porcelains, from the late Yüan or very early Ming period.[28]

To the Mongols and Tibetans—and, later, to the Manchus as well—the waters (rivers, lakes and seas) were sources of riches. Large pearls from freshwater mussels came from the rivers of Manchuria and Korea; the red coral which they treasured was said to have come from the Persian Gulf; and such rare items as elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns came to China by sea in the "tribute" from lands to the south. All these were pictured as wealth symbols, along with several other rarities, in sets of eight (called *pa pao,* in Chinese)—although there were more than sixteen of them to choose from. Particularly popular among these was the pearl. This had additional connotations as a symbol of purity and wisdom (Enlightenment); while three pearls (with or without an aura of flames) represented Buddha, the Law he had preached, and the Congregation. Given the idea of pearls coming from the waters, it was quite natural that the first wealth symbols to appear on the mandarin squares should have been pearls in the water section, as shown on this k'o-ssu panel. Furthermore, their arrangement in sets of three shows that the Buddhist associations must still have been remembered.

Stylized pearls and other symbolic "jewel" symbols had appeared on textiles, some of which must have been used for garments, even before the Yüan Dynasty; but there is no evidence to show that the Yüan nobles and officials ever added them to the ornamental patterns of birds and animals on their robes. After all, these were not natural elements appropriate to a semi-realistic landscape. Apparently this was strictly an early Ming innovation. That fact should be sufficient to show that the k'o-ssu panel was not pre-Ming. Yet we have seen that it must have been made very early in the Ming. Another indication of this is the way in which the three pearls are shown

in combination with a very distinctive stylization of the water element. This is represented by discontinuous wavy lines, thickened at one end to suggest the direction of flow. Sometimes these rippling lines are merely pointed at either end. This combination does not appear on the later Ming mandarin squares—on these the water was conventionalized in different ways—but it is found on certain Yüan Dynasty porcelains, which also portray ducks.[29]

It is not likely that the motif of the three pearls in the waves, as shown on this k'o-ssu pattern, was a unique, one-shot motif. Probably it was used on other mandarin squares, and on textiles in general. The most likely place to look for such a motif is on the covers of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures (sutras), which were commonly made from silk fabrics discarded by courtiers or noble families. The latter also gave old silks to the Mongols and Tibetans for temple banners, or the mountings of paintings (tankas). One motif frequently found on the latter is three pearls or other jewels on waves or sea-foam, alternating with coiled dragons, though it gradually became debased into shapelessness.[30]

At about the time that the k'o-ssu panel must have been woven—sometime around 1400—Tamerlane adopted the three pearls as his special sign, placing it on his coinage, etc. For some reason, this much-feared conqueror used the symbol upside down. (Was this perhaps to express his scorn as a Muslim for the highly revered symbol of Buddhism?) We learn about Tamerlane's use of this symbol from a Spanish envoy who arrived at his Court at Samarkand, in 1405, a few days before his death.[31]

Perhaps via Tamerlane's Court—or, more likely, directly from silks or porcelains imported from China—the symbol of the three pearls on the rippling waves spread westward to the Ottoman Turks. At their Court and elsewhere it became a familiar motif, and they used it on their rich velvets and on their rugs. The Ottomans even preserved the Chinese convention of showing the pearls in different colors, often adding a dot of white to each one, to suggest a pearly lustre. Incidentally, these dots increase the illusion of a third dimension, making it clear that the Turks were intending to represent round pearls, and not mere circular spots. This motif is beautifully illustrated on the Bode carpet, recently acquired by the Textile Museum.[32]

Fig. 6 Mandarin square, 1st rank, showing cranes. Early Ch'ing dynasty, about 1660. University Museum, Philadelphia.

To sum up our discussion of the k'o-ssu panel; we have seen that its naturalistic pattern of ducks in a watery setting, and its tentative early use of the symbolic pearls, identify it as being one of the earliest Ming mandarin squares. Later, as we have noted, the backgrounds became more stylized and they were cluttered by the addition of large, auspicious peonies along with the wealth symbols. In time, the latter became so numerous that they managed to destroy any sense of a natural setting. In other words, the decadence of the late Ming was expressed in excessive formalism and artificiality, and not by a looseness of pattern, as I had formerly assumed.

Lastly, we should stress again that there is no reason to confuse Ming mandarin squares with the later ones from the Ch'ing Dynasty. In the first place, the usual Ming examples—whether embroidered, or woven in tapestry—were all made in one piece. The only exceptions were the brocaded ones, woven directly into the robes for lesser members of the Imperial Family, or for presentation by the Emperor as awards for merit. The back and front of these brocaded robes were each made in two vertical panels, so half of each pattern was woven on each panel, after which they were sewn together. As a result of

Fig. 7 Mandarin square, embroidered, 4th rank, showing stylized Mandarin duck. Early Ch'ing dynasty, about 1680. Letcher Collection, University Museum, Philadelphia.

this process, both squares were bisected by a central seam.[33] We have already seen that the totally different Manchu costume of the Ch'ing Dynasty required that the front square should be split, while the back one was an unbroken unit. Furthermore, although a few of the earliest Ch'ing squares had twin birds (arranged in new, experimental ways as shown in Fig. 6), all the rest had single birds or animals—progressively diminishing in size during the course of the dynasty, thus reversing the Ming trend. They were rigidly portrayed in artificial-looking settings, usually crowded with lucky symbols, and framed by an ornamental border. Also, these Ch'ing squares had a sun disk in an upper corner, so the bird or animal looking up at this sun would suggest the official who wore it looking up respectfully to his Emperor. (Fig. 7)

Therefore, one way to check the authenticity of a "Ming" ancestor portrait is to see whether a later painter has anachronistically inserted a sun on the mandarin square, or surrounded it by a Ch'ing-style border. Most of the "Ming" ancestral portraits in Western collections are either later Chinese works, or from Korea. Comparatively few are both genuine and reliable for evidence. But, as we have seen in the case of the two authentic ones cited in this article, the good ones, that can be at least approximately dated, can provide important evidence for tracing the history of Chinese costume and for authenticating Ming textiles.[34] Very few of the latter have survived the stormy early years of the Ch'ing Dynasty, and those that did should be sought out and carefully protected. They are not only handsome to look at; they are valuable historically, as relics of a vanished culture.

NOTES

1. For further information on mandarin squares in general, with many illustrations of Ming and Ch'ing examples, see two other articles by this writer: "The Development of the Mandarin Square," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, no. 2, 1944, pp. 71–130 (hereafter referred to as Cammann 1944); and "Chinese Mandarin Squares," *Bulletin of the University Museum* (Philadelphia), Vol. 17, no. 3, 1953, pp. 5–60 (hereafter referred to as Cammann 1953).

2. Another fine Ming square was pictured in full color on the cover of the *Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1975.

3. These laws are presented in the *Ming-shih*, ch. 67.5. They are also given in the *Ta Ming hui-tien* (Wan-li edition of 1587), ch. 61, p. 33, but the latter gives the wrong year (1393, instead of 1391).

4. The Nelson Gallery in Kansas City has some Ming imperial dragon badges. An unusual example in the University Museum, Philadelphia, is pictured in Cammann 1953, Fig. 17.

5. For a Ming phoenix square, see Cammann 1944, Fig. 5b.

6. For examples of *ch'i-lin* and *pai-tse*, see *ibid.*, Fig. 4.

7. For a Ming bear see *ibid.*, Fig. 6d. Another Ming bear square of a rather unusual type in the Textile Museum is cited in note 2.

8. For the Chinese idea of a rhinoceros—which they only knew from its much-prized horn—see Cammann 1944, Fig. 11a.

9. For the "sea horse" see *ibid.*, Fig. 11b.

10. For the censors' *hsieh-chai*, see Cammann 1953, Figs. 21 and 32.

11. The Paradise flycatcher is the only one of the birds of rank that is likely to be unfamiliar to Western readers. An example is shown in Cammann 1944, Fig. 6a, though this is somewhat unusual in having extra tail plumes; two long ones are more usual, and avianly correct.

12. See Jean Lee, et al., "Ming Blue-and-White," *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 44, no. 223, 1949, Figs. 77 and 153, for Ming paradise flycatchers (mislabeled as phoenixes).

13. Ch'iu Hsün, *Ta-hsüeh yen-i-pu*, Peking, 1488 (reprinted in Hainan, in 1931), ch. 98.7a.

14. *Ibid.*

15. See references in note 3, above.

16. One of these is the *San-tsai t'u-hui* of 1585, *i-fu* section, ch. 2, pp. 30–35.

17. For an example of highly skilled embroidery in several techniques, see the Textile Museum's bear square cited in note 2 above.

18. See S. Cammann, "Embroidery Techniques in Old China," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, Vol. 16, 1972, pp. 16–40.

19. See S. Cammann, "Notes on the Development of Mandarin Squares," *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, Vol. 26, no. 1, 1942, pp. 10 and 11.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 11 and Figs. 4 and 5.

21. The Yüan laws for clothing are cited in the *Yüan-shih*, ch. 78.

22. See L. C. Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung*, Baltimore, 1935.

23. For examples of the Mongol-style dress in Persia, see *The Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. V, plates 850, 857, 870–873, etc., and F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, Figs. 27a–30, and E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting, XIIth–XVIIth Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, London, 1929, pl. 63.

24. These Yüan portraits are reproduced in *Chung-kuo li-tai ti-hou hsiang*, Shanghai, n.d. (no pagination).

25. See W. W. Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, London, 1900, p. 72.

26. See S. Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry," *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona, Switzerland), Vol. 11, 1948, pp. 90–109.

27. Portrait of Li Yu (1404–1451) in *Ch'i-yang Shih-chia wen-wu t'u-hsiang*. True ancestor portraits were done as soon as possible after the subject's death.

28. See Sherman Lee and W. K. Ho, *Chinese Art Under the Mongols*, Cleveland, 1968, fig. 146, showing eight of these symbols on a Yüan plate. The wealth symbols are discussed in S. Cammann, *Substance and Symbol in Chinese Toggles*, Philadelphia, 1962, pp. 101–103.

29. See Li and Ho, *op. cit.*, nos. 53 and 134.

30. Two debased versions of this motif are shown in M. S. Dimand and J. Mailey, *Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1973, figs. 309 and 310.

31. See C. R. M. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Tamerlane*, London, 1859, p. 124.

32. Carpet from northwest Anatolia, late 16th or early 17th century, ex-collection Wilhelm Bode. Textile Museum 1976.10.1, *Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. IV, no. 3, 1976, color cover and p. 6, Fig. 1.

33. These were tailored like the dragon robes. For details see S. Cammann, *China's Dragon Robes*, New York, 1952, Chapter 9, especially p. 108.

34. Regarding the value of ancestor portraits for studying mandarin squares in general, see Cammann 1941, pp. 123–127. For possible pitfalls in dating, see the writer's review of Alan Priest, *Portraits of the Court of China, in Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 2, 1943, pp. 310–314.

SCHUYLER van RENSSELAER CAMMANN, *after graduating from Yale, taught at Yale-in-China, in Changsha, Hunan Province. During World War II, he returned to China as a Naval officer. He received an M.A. from Harvard and a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins, both in Asian History. For thirty years he has taught in the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. At present he is Professor of East Asian Studies, and head of the East Asian Section in that Department. He has travelled very widely in the Middle East, Central Asia and Southeast Asia, and also teaches courses in the Art and Cultural History of those areas. Dr. Cammann has written several books and many articles on Asian subjects, and has been a contributor of essays to the Textile Museum Journal.*